12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

affect her designation of the brother himself, his wife and children are now called respectively "daughter-in-law" and "grandchildren." 601

One further distinction should be noted. Though we tend to consider social distance unilinearly as remoteness at one extreme and intimacy at the other, extremely significant qualitative differences in relationship are also involved. Remoteness may be the basis of complete social isolation, or it may form a condition for hate, anger, dominance or exhibition. In Blackfoot culture the social distance of the father's family and the affinal family must be qualitatively distinguished. While the affinal family's social distance implies isolation, the father's family in its remoteness implies authority. This is reflected terminologically, for though ego addresses both his father's father and his wife's father as "grandparent," the father-in-law calls ego "son-in-law," while father's father calls ego "grandson." 602 [593]

From the foregoing remarks the intent of the system seems to be a patrilineal organization. Authority is vested in the father's family, while warm intimacy characterizes the relations to the mother's family. The marriage of a woman implies the severing of relations with her own family and becoming a part of her husband's family. A man by reason of authority based on age and generation would appear to hold together the group of male kinsmen with their wives, sons and unmarried daughters. Indeed, this would be in keeping with the general pattern for the northern Plains and Woodland tribes of North America. [171]

In practise, however, the anarchistic individualism of the Plains changes the emphasis of this system. Family organization is multilineal; living is multilocal. Authority as exemplified in the band system is more like the relationship of landlord to tenant than lord to vassal. It is based on the supposition of a continuous flow of benefits to the submitter, rather than the humble submission to might in return for favors. As a consequence a kinsman uses his relatives for whatever benefits they may bring him. Only those whose wealth enables them to maintain a continuous flow of benefits have the continuity of the ideal system of patrilineally organized groups. But even they, because of their positions, have many besides siblings and their descendants as followers. Relatives through one's mother, through one's wife as well as their kinsmen, in fact any person with the remotest claim of relationship, may come to reap the benefits that a wealthy man distributes. Only in this light can the actual working of the system be understood. [181] [591] [621]

The Orientation Group

Let us first identify the group of relatives in this category and then attempt to justify the distinction. Membership in an orientation group includes ego's father (*nɑn.'a*), mother and her co-wives (*nɑksɑ'sta*), older brother (*nɑ'sɑ*), older sister (*nɑn'sta*), and younger sibling (*nɑksɑn.'s* for a 596 601

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

male speaker and *nisis.'*[a] for a female speaker).[2] If we extend to ego the position of father in ego's own tipi, we find ego's wife or wives (*nuxki.'man*), son (*nuxku'a*) and daughter (*nitan.'a*); for a female speaker the only additional term needed is the word "husband" (*nom.'a*), the co-wives being addressed as "younger sibling" or "older sister."

The nominal character of this group cannot be denied. We have found no linguistic term to delineate these relatives, though there does exist a suffix to distinguish between siblings living with ego from those living elsewhere. As the conjugal Blackfoot family usually lives in a distinct dwelling from the parents, the orientation group contains not a single household unit but two: ego's parents' household and ego's household as a married adult with family. Though the schema implies patrilocal residence, actually residence is multilocal. Our concept, furthermore, does not allow for the fact that a woman is differently oriented toward her parents than a male by dint of his mother-in-law tabu and sororal polygyny. Only among the economically most impoverished, where even two tipis cannot be mustered, could such a group exist in practise.

Our justification for such a group lies in the fact that these relatives are points of orientation toward a larger circle of kinsmen. It is as if the persons of one's own tipi are direct relatives of ego while those outside are mediated through some one who lives or has lived with ego. For example, our term "aunt" implies a direct relationship to ego, but "father's sister" would imply a relationship mediated through father. Though there is some linguistic evidence for this, more positive evidence is the phrasing of our interpreters and informants. One informant, generalizing the forms of address of his affinal relatives, explained: "Those whom my wife calls 'father' or 'mother', I call 'grandparent'. . ." It would have been quite as easy for our interpreters to have translated "my wife's father is called 'my grandparent'," though this form of expression was not used. Elsewhere we find interpreters translating that a given person was "comrade" of the informant's father. The age of the father, as we shall see presently, is a point of reference for reckoning the form of address to males of father's family. We may infer that the mother also serves as a point of reference, for the members of her family are addressed by a different set of rules. In addition, the wife addresses her husband's family according to rules similar to those used by her husband in addressing his own family. Similarly, the wife's family is addressed in ways comparable to the rules whereby a woman addresses her own kinsmen.

Linguistically, several terms reveal this tendency for the orientation

---

[2] All Blackfoot terms for kinsmen are given in the possessive form, first person singular and include "my ——."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

group to serve as a center of reference. The term *nitzki.'man* may be distinguished from *nitoto'zki.man*. The first refers to my wife; the second refers to my wife's sister married to another man or to the wife of my comrade. The infix *o* refers to distance or separation, and the foregoing term with this infix may be translated, as our interpreters were wont to do, "my 'distant' wife." The corresponding term is "'distant' husband" (*nitotoyom.'ª*), which may be contrasted with "husband" (*nom.'a*). We find a similar distinction between the terms for own children and grandchildren: thus my daughter is *nitan.'a* while my granddaughter is *nis.otan.'a*, suggesting that the latter may be considered as a daughter through one's own daughter or a distant daughter. Michelson has also noticed this infix, though he referred only to its presence in *nitoto'zki.man*.[3]

Father's Family

We include the males and females of the direct patrilineal line and its collaterals, ego's own siblings and paternal male parallel cousins. Though we have included ego's own siblings and father in the group of orientation, for the sake of showing the extent of the terminological principle, we reinclude them here. Males in father's family are addressed according to relative age with reference to ego and ego's father. This makes five logical possibilities for naming, all of which are used: (1) Those older than father and their wives are called "grandparent" (*naa'xsª*). (2) Those of father's age are called "father," i.e., "father's comrade," and their wives are called "mother." (3) Those younger than father but older than ego are called "older brother," and their wives are called "mother" by male and unmarried female speakers; after being married, a woman calls an older brother's wife "daughter-in-law" (*nii'nopsª*). (4) Those of ego's age of either sex are called "comrade" (*nitak.'a*); wives of comrades are called by men "'distant' wife" (*nitoto'zki.man*); husbands of comrades are called by women "'distant' husband" (*nitotoyom.'ª*). The term of address for the husband of a female comrade as spoken by a male is "older brother" or "younger sibling"; for the wife of a male comrade as spoken by a female it is "older sister" or "younger sibling". (5) Siblings or first generation descendants of older brothers, if these descendants are younger than ego, are called "younger sibling," and the wives of these men are called "daughter-in-law" by both sexes. This is diagrammed in Figure 2.

The females of father's family are designated according to generation. All women of father's generation or of the preceding generations and their husbands are blanketed as "grandparent." Women of ego's generation are called "younger sibling" or "older sister." Though generation is the general

[3] Michelson, T. *Piegan Kinship System*, Holmes Anniversary Volume, Washington, D. C. 1916, p. 320 f.

596 601 602 601 [113]

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

war deeds and political authority being equal, would ordinarily not join a war expedition led by one who was his junior. Among war chiefs who had already made their major coups, seniority was as important a factor in prestige as the number of major coups.

Unlike the Pawnee and the Comanche one's prestige did not decline after the last war deed. War was understood as a means for acquiring wealth, and if one were already wealthy, status could be maintained in certain spheres without war deeds. Once one had built an adequate herd of horses, there was no humiliation for those who preferred to remain in camp. Moreover, after renouncing warfare, one might gain further prestige. Ceremonial life was another form of competition with property as one of the stakes; a man surpassed another by paying more for an article of ceremonial importance or by acquiring more sacred articles. The tribal chiefs themselves were usually older men who had already distinguished themselves as warriors. Having given up the war path, they settled with their large herds of horses to help their relatives and thus established their positions as leaders in civil life. In this status of leader a man with less wealth and fewer coups might surpass a man with a finer war record who had greater wealth but less generosity. Above all, the mere fact of having grown old was regarded with respect, for one must have power in order to grow old. Hence, it was any dignified old man who with his liaisons to supernatural powers said prayers for the departing warriors. In fact, they prayed that the young man who offered them a pipe would have a long life and many children.

The general structure of the age societies exemplifies this pattern still further. The societies such as the Bees and the Prairie Chickens were entered by many young men, required little outlay of wealth for membership and served mainly for display, recreation, and solidifying the bonds between comrades. Those high in the hierarchy of age societies such as the members of the Catchers and the Horn societies were necessarily older men of sufficient wealth to pay a relatively high price for admission. Hence the group of members was not large. In addition these societies were entrusted with legal authority, based in part on the supernatural power which membership gave them. We thus see again the tendency to associate with age both authority and supernatural power. Though the Crazy Dogs, lying about midway in the hierarchy of age societies, might sing the old Plains song, "We do not want to become old," this was sung perhaps more in derision of their "enemy society" than as an expression of the desire to die young.

Within the residence group any remarks on authority must be prefaced by the observation that the smaller units were in the final analysis autonomous. Each household unit was free to move any place it desired at the will of the man who was head. Among the households that coalesced into

592 an extended family, the eldest male was in authority, though any of the
596 constituent households might terminate this authority by camping elsewhere. Similarly the senior member of an extended family could curtail
[621] the authority of the band chief by withdrawing with his kinsmen to another band or by forming an independent band, were the group sufficiently large.
[571] All groupings larger than the individual household presupposed that the military and economic benefits of membership outweighed the disadvantages of submission to authority.

596 Assuming stable conditions, authority in the extended family lay with the
561 senior male. At his death the next oldest was presumptive head of the family. As a group there was little contact between the young and those of
[603] grandparent status, though an individual might warm to one or more of his
[626] grandchildren and favor him in various ways. A child who spent considerable time with old people received the mildly derogatory term of *kpitè'puka* ("old-woman-child") because of imitating unconsciously the mannerisms of old people and hence acting beyond its age. Although an exception to the rule correlating age with authority may appear in the individual household,
[788] even here the elder might be active in an advisory capacity. Only under extreme circumstances were old people allowed to die as outcasts. When transportation was difficult or food running short, then with regret, often
[886] at their own request, the old were left behind on the march. To be sure, the rule of senior authority was modified when it was realised that senility had appeared. Then the next in age tactfully assumed the major administrative role in the extended family or the band, if it had not already been relinquished.

556 The age-authority hierarchy was further reinforced by economic consider-
431 ations. It was the pattern to associate prestige with generosity. Those who
561 gave generously increased their own prestige, providing that they did not
593 bankrupt themselves thereby. Within the extended family it was the
554 practice to encourage siblings to give to their juniors. This was not only an expression of endearment or of aiding a weaker person, as it was often phrased. It also had the effect of putting juniors in the debt of seniors. To be sure these debts were not the same within the family as outside the family between unrelated persons, for repayment between relatives was
[684] not categorical. Yet we have such instances as a young man raiding for horses to repay his father. The father had given horses in settlement to a husband whose wife had had an affair with the son. In other cases where an older brother had made his son a favored child, the younger brother gave abundantly to this favored child, "to repay the older brother for his kindness to him in his youth." We have also noted that young men returning from war always gave some portion of their booty to older brothers. The practice was to give first to the older because "they would not live so long as the younger."

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for above all the preservation of the household was primary.

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt."

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge.

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture and herding under white management have been substituted. With this change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defensive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions.

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib-

561 ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's
601 mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference
177 with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate.
178 The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed "grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

571 This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontoc-
657 racy. There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Black-
888 foot were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunt-
[554] ing and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of renowned warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers. Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognised to-day, freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with
[762] another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the author-
[621] ity is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or
[596] clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change
[182] many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have
[122] devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate
[428] group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today. In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, pri-
[177] marily the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white techniques of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnishings, and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus, through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power.

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old have increased their power.

This general increase in authority of the aged has not been made without sacrifice in some spheres. Specifically, the final economic and political authority now lies with the agency. However, within the frame of white authority many decisions remain in the hands of the extended family. Among these are the choice of residential site on unoccupied land, caring for the aged beyond the allotted rations of food and clothing, designating among the group of dependents those who shall carry out specific duties, and the management of certain undertakings such as trapping and horse raising. The missionary schools have assumed control over the young children and now sanction, and even try to arrange, the initial marriage of a young man with a girl ready to leave the school. However, the head of an extended family may exert influence after the school years are over and select mates for subsequent marriages of his kinsmen. At the same time the younger, active men are usually in immediate control of farm production, the cattle, and the labor in the agency-operated coal mine. Indeed, there have been many instances of reserve cleavage based on the interests of the young "progressives" as pitted against the old conservatives. However, though the young speak vehemently in meetings against the authority of the old, when the issues call for action, few turn against the venerated authority of the elders.

III. Northern Blackfoot Kinship Terms*

1. ᓂᓈᑦᓯᐢ, "my grandparent."
   (a) Male of father's family or its collateral who is older than father; his wife.
   (b) Female (and her husband) of father's family or its collateral who is of father's generation or antecedent generations (note exception under 5d, 6d and 7c).
   (c) Mother's father and his sibling; his or her spouse; mother's mother and her female sibling; her spouse.
   (d) Sister considerably older than ego (alternative form, cf. 5).
   (e) (Male speaker.) Wife's mother; wife's father; wife's father's sibling or his or her spouse; wife's mother's sister or her spouse.
   (f) (Female speaker.) Member of husband's family older than husband; his or her spouse.
   (g) (Rare with female referent.) Descendant of the female line of father's sister; her husband.
2. ᓂᐢᑫ, "my father."
   (a) Father; comrade of father, i.e., age mate of father (cf. 16).
   (b) Husband of mother's sister.
   (c) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.

* All terms, once defined according to Blackfoot usage, will be so used in defining additional terms.

592
594
603 stages of the family cycle. Two became conjugal pair households and one became a single person household. We see from these data that household response to economic variables--stable and moderately sufficient funds--is most predictable and sensitive.

592
594 Conjugal Pairs

Two of the five conjugal pairs changed. One became a single person household whereas the other joined an extended family household. The latter direct a modest ranching operation, and because age largely incapacitated the male head, a married daughter and her spouse and offspring moved in to keep the livestock business intact. The other three conjugal pairs remain the same.

592
596 Joint Family Households

The single joint family household, which consisted of married sisters (one spouseless) with their children and the spouse of one of the sisters, soon disbanded, as I had suspected. Each family head lives in a separate household. One woman remarried and resides with her children and husband in the center of Heart Butte, while the other lives in a welfare-provided trailer near her mother's family and is part of a mutual assistance land cluster. No new joint family household formed during my absence.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
596

Extended Family Household

The least stable household type, the one in which composition shifts occur most frequently, is the extended family. The central cause of transitions from this form to another is the economic independence achieved by the guest families (practically always younger than the head family). Diagram II depicts a very definite trend toward independence of formerly dependent families. In one case only did the death of an elder head bring about a transition. I predicted that nine extended family households would not long remain in their extended form, principally because it seemed to me that young dependent families in these households would soon find some economic means of supporting themselves independent of their elders. My prediction proved accurate in eight of these cases (see Diagram II). One case did not meet my expectations because the head of the dependent family could not secure permanent employment. One case, #5, changed in a direction not predicted. The young dependent family head divorced his wife, whereupon she moved to Browning with her children to live with her step-grandmother, thus establishing a new dependency relationship. The young male remains with his spouseless and elderly father in Heart Butte. Furthermore, the elderly man's household grew even larger when his nephew's family moved in in a dependency relationship. So, although this household remains extended, it is so with different sets of kin relationships. All households but one, then, have fitted my earlier predictions. This is no fluke, I assert, but demonstrates that economic factors are critical in determining family household forms.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 32]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
596

Diagram II

HOUSEHOLD, TRANSFORMATIONS, EIGHT FORMERLY EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, RURAL DISTRICT BLACKFEET HOUSEHOLDS, 1970

Case #1. Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #2. Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #3. Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #4. Extended	Independent Nuclear Independent Nuclear
Case #5. Extended	Extended (hosting married nephew)
Case #6. Extended	Independent Nuclear (former elder head deceased)
Case #7. Extended	Grandparent-Grandchild Independent Nuclear
Case #8. Extended	Conjugal Pair Independent Nuclear

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
596

Recombinations and splintering of kin units follow economic exigencies very closely. This process is part of an underclass, neo-colonial relationship to the larger society.

Case #6 changed from extended to nuclear because of the death of the elder, spouseless male head. The formerly dependent family now heads the household, caring for dependent offspring of the deceased elder. I predicted that his household would remain extended (not taking into account the death of the elder head); my prediction was technically accurate.

592
596
128

We see from the cases listed in Diagram II that transitions occur essentially as predicted. Six cases fissioned from extended forms to nuclear (for younger families), and nuclear, grandparent-grandchild, or conjugal pairs among former elder extended family household heads. The heads of younger families obtained some form of stable economic resources and pursued independence according to their desires to achieve independence and live alone with their families. The elders who remain behind are forced to support themselves as best they can without benefit of the mutual economic aid that existed prior to splintering. Several of the younger families still give or receive aid but not to the degree found when the families were together sharing a single dwelling. Achieving families break out of the multiple-family household, pursue a quasi-middle class way of life by keeping most of what they have to sustain independence. As years pass and earnings decline, they once again become involved in mutual economic assistance relationships by hosting a younger family.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Land Clusters

423
596
1935

Land clusters, like extended and joint family households, are important indicators of poor economic conditions in Blackfeet communities because of the intensive mutual economic assistance found among families making up these units. A land cluster consists of elder males or females who own land on which their homes and the home or homes of guest families (usually married offspring, see Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970). Within this intra-household organization there is a network of mutual economic and labor assistance as well as frequent emotional support. Except for dwelling, these extended kin units generally fit the extended family household form and function. By including families within land clusters, I found that 59 per cent of all families were involved in mutual economic assistance relationships in 1966. Tables 1 and 2 show a decline of multiple-family household since 1966.

128
596

Yet, when the eight families that are still in a relationship of mutual dependency and that have moved out are included, we learn that 22 families (ten head and twelve dependent) are in extended family households. This increases the 1970 percentage of families in extended family households to 29 per cent, representing a seven per cent decrease of such families since 1966. On the other hand, further analysis of the land clusters does not suggest that the seven per cent decrease in extended family households is cause for optimism about economic improvements.

596
182
128

In 1966, 22 families were clustered on land owned by an elder kinsmen. All were involved in intense mutual economic assistance. When

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
182
128

we turn to the 75 cases recorded in 1970, nineteen are in land clusters and 22 are in extended family households. Thus, the 41 mutually dependent units represent 55 per cent of the total. In 1966, 59 per cent of all families were mutually dependent, only four per cent above the 1970 cases. Statistically there is no significance in the four per cent difference. The economic picture, therefore, has not changed appreciably in the four-year sampling period embraced by this study.

So, while some young families manage to break out of the extended family household or land clusters once reasonably stable incomes are acquired, new dependencies are formed through reshuffling and reorganization of existing families. The family cycle, which is largely dependent on economic relationships, remains rather as it was in 1966, as this follow-up study has shown.

Conclusions

592
182
128

This chapter has dealt with families restudied in 1970. In the four years between 1966 and 1970, families and households moved, splintered, recombined largely because of economic conditions. Economic variables are overwhelmingly important in determining household forms, which gives added support to my previous findings. These findings demonstrate that underclass relationships of mutual economic dependencies remain essentially as in 1966 among poorer families. There has been no significant improvement in over-all economic conditions. The families studied here have not realized a basic alteration in job opportunities. The same basic economic features remain--some permanent

[434]

128 3.98 and 4.42 for the Old Agency District households. Using a test which determines the Significance of the Difference Between Medians, I find that there is no statistically significant different. I therefore conclude that the two populations, which are geographically adjacent and part of the same reservation, do indeed represent the same sampling population and that the survey was systematic in its inclusion of data. The meticulousness of the data collection and the comparability of the data from the two districts embolden me to use the combined data in comparisons with my intensive data from the present rural areas. I will, however, note some important economic differences between the populations. I will analyze farming and ranching in the Old Agency District in considerable detail since it was in this district that the greatest share of farming and considerable ranching was conducted. The largest ranching operations on the reservation in 1921 were conducted in the area missing from available survey records.

592
128
162

General Description and Demography

In all there were 821 persons recorded for the 167 households which comprised the two populations (425 persons in the Old Agency District's 83 households and 396 persons in the Heart Butte District's 84 households). The median number of persons per household for the combined sample was 4.15 (half of the households had more than this figure and half had fewer than this figure). The combined household and family types for the two populations is shown in Table 4.

596
128

The 194 families were distributed thus: two families resided

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

596
128

in each of the three joint family households, and 42 families resided in the remaining nineteen multiple family households. The average was 2.2 families for each multiple-family household. Three of the households had three families each, while the other sixteen multiple-family households had two families each. No Blackfeet household in 1966 included more than two families.

Two joint families consisted of a brother and sister with spouses and/or offspring; two married brothers constituted the third joint household. Seven of the nineteen families in the ascending generation in extended family households consisted of single persons, six were conjugal pairs, five were independent nuclear families and one was a grandparent-grandchild non-family.

All multiple-family households in 1921 are represented in Diagram III. Unlike the 1966 households, which lack dependent conjugal pairs, the 1921 sample had four such dependent pairs.

I will now analyze the demography of the rural past and present. The following bar graph shows the relative percentages of persons 0 to 21 years, 22 to 64, and 65 and older for the entire 1921 rural population included in the 1921 survey and the rural sample of 1966. I ascertained relative and absolute ages of those in the past from the survey records by using recorded ages of household heads and their spouses; for those whose specific ages were not recorded I arrived at an approximate age according to general descriptive remarks such as whether offspring were in school, away or married, etc. I found a very negligible difference between the two rural district populations and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

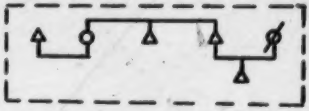
596

Diagram III

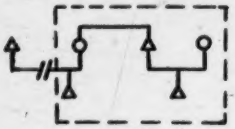
TWENTY-TWO MULTIPLE-FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, HEART BUTTE AND OLD AGENCY DISTRICTS, 1921

No. 1. Joint

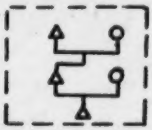
No. 2. Joint



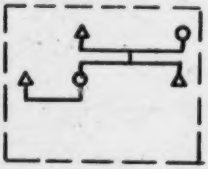
No. 3. Joint



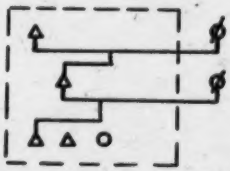
No. 4. Extended



No. 5. Extended



No. 6. Extended

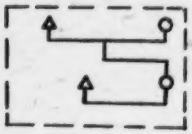


13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

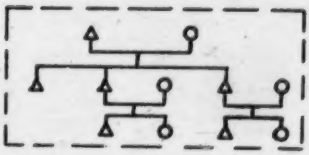
Diagram III (Continued)

596

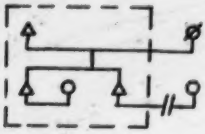
No. 7. Extended



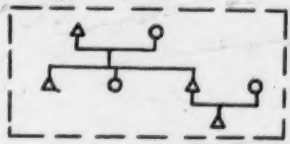
No. 8. Extended



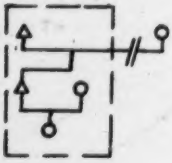
No. 9. Extended



No. 10. Extended



No. 11. Extended



No. 12. Extended

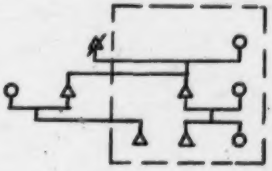
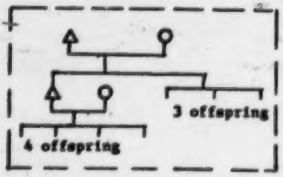


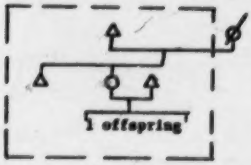
Diagram III (Continued)

596

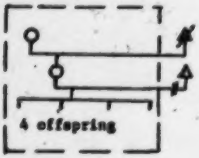
No. 13. Extended



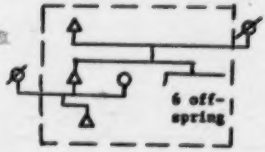
No. 14. Extended



No. 15. Extended



No. 16. Extended



No. 17. Extended

No. 18. Extended

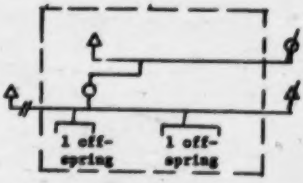
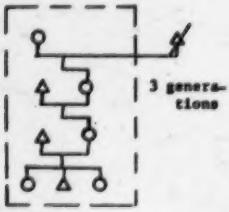
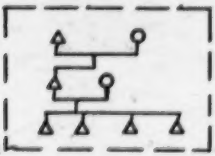


Diagram III (Continued)

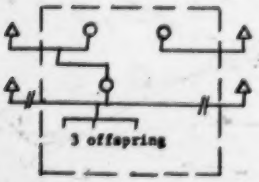
No. 19. Extended



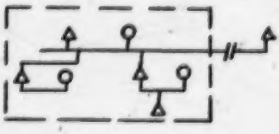
No. 20. Extended



No. 21. Extended



No. 22. Extended



and therefore lumped them together in this comparison.

Bar Graph I shows that 52 per cent of those in the Old Agency and Heart Butte districts fell within the 0-21 age group, 44 per cent in the 22 to 64 interval and four per cent were 65 or older. The 1966 demographic curves, based on my research in Heart Butte and the rural districts nearby, show that 60 per cent of the population is 21 or younger, about 35 per cent are between 22 and 64 and only five per cent are 65 and over.

The tribal population has increased from 3,300 in 1927 to 12,200 in 1970. Over 6,400 members still reside on the reservation (almost double the 3,300 who, for the most part, lived on the reservation in 1927); about 5,800 live off the reservation. This increase also shows up in household population figures in my past and present samples. Median household size in the 1921 rural districts was 4.2; in 1966 it was 5.8, a 38 per cent increase. Multiple-family household size has gone from 6.0 to 7.3, a 22 per cent increase. Both of these figures are statistically significant at below the .05 level. Additionally, but less significant statistically, there is an eight per cent increase in the number of families in multiple-family households. The meanings of these highly critical comparisons will be brought out momentarily, but first I compare the number of miscellaneous dependents in the past and present households in the rural districts.

Tables 5 and 6 compare types and numbers of miscellaneous dependents in the 1921 and 1966 households. They reveal that the 1966 rural households have a considerably higher percentage of miscellaneous

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 50]

128 expect--that the more acres cultivated the more hands required to do
474 the job, but I point out that since only the exceptional family culti-
241 vated as much as 235 acres, it seems that individual families with equip-
592 ment and teams of horses were quite able to manage their acreages.
Presumably their resources, cash or otherwise, permitted an economic-
ally independent existence. That these families could have sought or
offered aid even in the absence of nearby kin is clear. Others farmed
with non-kin; although kin aid was the nearly universal practice.

241 The one exception--the party in the lower left quadrant of the
464 table--shared its harvest from its 235 acres with a hired hand and his
128 family. The hired hand, who owned no land, merely received payment for
his labor. One could eliminate this case from the list of co-ops by
arguing that share-cropping is here a wage. I have chosen to label
this case a co-op unit because of the comments made in the survey
volume; there was a strong indication of mutual assistance between
these unrelated families.

596 No multiple-family household in either district cultivated more
474 than twenty acres. Again, the hypothesis is supported: families
182 cooperate mutually to exploit meager resources and the obverse is that
the greater the resources (up to a point) the greater the occurrence of
independent nuclear family households. But this generalization by no
means applies unerringly to all families and households. We saw, for
example, a large three-household, three-family ranching co-op (unit 15
in the Heart Butte District discussed earlier) which today is immensely
successful through family consolidation of growing access to land and

animals from decade to decade and unity of kin effort. But these resources overwhelmingly out-match the relatively successful farming units. It appears to me that resources of sizable proportions (real wealth) attracts and jells extended kin units through joint family capitalization, job acquisition and political favoratism (see Houghton 1968), while mild success in the wage labor market and marginal success in farming (of 36 to 235 acres or so in the past, for example) merely allows families to atomize and go it alone. This generalization applies significantly to reservation communities where the pickings are sparse (see also Jorgensen 1971).

Using Old Agency District acreage data provides a further test of the validity of my hypothesis. Is there a correlation between family type and number of acres cultivated? A test of this type will provide a broad comparison with cash income and family type as tested in my previous analyses (Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970).

Correlation Ratio Diagram I tests the relationship posited. The predicted relationship between family type and agricultural resources is evident. By inspection of the row means in the diagram, we see that independent nuclear families had by far the greatest number of acres under cultivation. The mean for independent nuclear families is 27 compared with seven, eight and three for head families in extended family households, dependent nuclear families, and dependent conjugal pairs respectively. Even if the acreages for all families in multiple-family households are lumped together, using per household figures, which of course increases the mean, multiple-family households

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

582
Sh4
Sh6
128

Correlation Ratio Diagram II

FAMILY TYPE AND AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 194 BLACKFEET FAMILIES, 1921

Family Type — Y (Family Type)	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70 plus	Mean Age of Family Heads
Head Family in Extended Family Household					1		3	2	7	5	1	(60.7)
Grandparent-Grandchild (Household)					1				2		1	(59.5)
Single Person (Household)					1		1		1		1	(57.0)
Conjugal Pair (Household)	2	6	1	2	3	1		1	2	4	3	(46.0)
Independent Nuclear	2	10	10	14	21	24	14	7	4	4	2	(43.3)
Joint	1	2	1	1		2						(34.1)
Dependent Nuclear	1	10	2	2	1	1						(31.1)
Dependent Conjugal Pair	2	2	1	1								(27.8)

Age of Family Heads in Intervals of 5 Years — X (Age)

$\eta^2_{xy} = .33$

---- = Trend line

592 128 Families are once again grouped into stages. Stage I (Figure I) represents all families whose heads are twenty to 34 years of age. This is the same procedure I followed in explaining the 1966 rural family cycle; I do this to obtain comparability. Frequencies and percentages of family types in 1966 are also shown in the following figures.

596 592 128 The rural Stage I families of 1921 are similar in types to the Stage I families in the 1966 sample. Dependencies are again the pattern. There are 22 Stage I families in multiple-family households, or 41 per cent of all Stage I families. In the 1966 rural sample 58 per cent of all Stage I families are in multiple-family households, a difference of 17 per cent. Another contrast is in the 20-24 age interval. In 1966 all of the families in this interval are in multiple-family households whereas in the 1921 sample four of eight were in households of this type. Also we see that independence characterized the 1921 Stage I families while in 1966 dependence predominates. These comparisons certainly indicate an increasing tendency toward early dependence in family life; virtually all newlyweds in the 1966 sample are with elders.

592 594 596 128 Stage II (Figure II) of the 1966 rural and 1921 rural cases are similar in comparative percentages of types, though dependent nuclear and dependent conjugal pairs stop in the 35-39 interval, dependent nuclear cases are found in the 45-49 interval and joint families go to 45-49 also. Families in multiple-family households account for ten per cent of the total in 1921; they account for fourteen per cent of the total in 1966. Statistically these differences are not significant. The differences in the two samples in Stage II are slight.

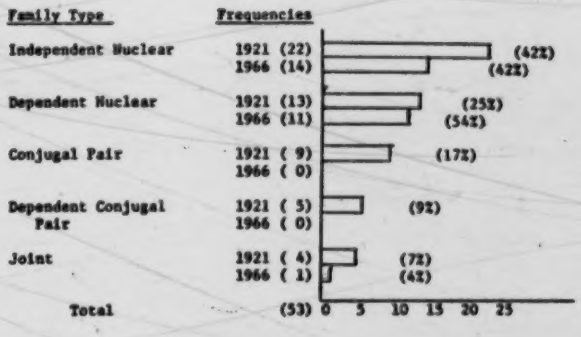
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1031]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Figure I

BAR CHART. STAGE I FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS*



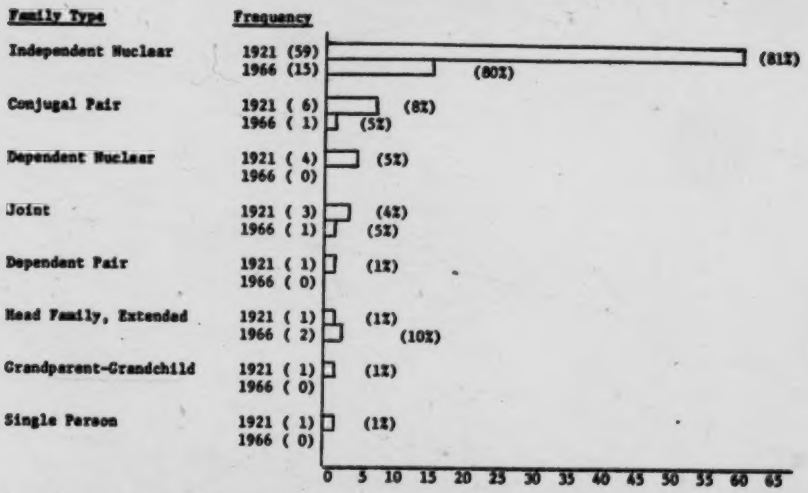
*Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Age of Heads 20-34, 53 Blackfeet families, Independent Nuclear Families predominate.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

552
S67
1972

Figure II

BAR CHART. STAGE II FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS*



*Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Age of Heads 35-49, 76 Blackfeet families; Independent Nuclear Families predominate.

592
594
596
128

Like Stage III (Figure III) in the 1966 rural Blackfeet family cycle, the 1921 sample shows a predominance of independent nuclear families. Families in multiple-family households account for 30 per cent of all Stage III families in 1966 and 28 per cent in 1921, a very close comparison. At this stage elder parents pick up married dependents (dependent conjugal pairs and dependent nuclear families). The greatest frequencies of occurrence of head families are in the 60-64 age interval (seven cases) and 65-69 (five cases).

The only important contrast between the 1921 and 1966 rural samples in Stage IV (Figure IV) is the higher percentages of grandparent-grandchild non-families in 1966. I have partially discussed this difference in my analysis of demography. Once again, it can be seen that elders pick up various kinsmen in the last stage of the family cycle. More than 62 per cent of the elders in this stage have dependents which includes those with unmarried offspring, married offspring, and grandchildren. In 1966, 80 per cent of the eldest families have closely related dependents with them. If, as shown, at least four-fifths of the eldest families among the rural Blackfeet must continue supporting and in part being supported by various dependents, the prospects are dismal for elderly and young families.

121

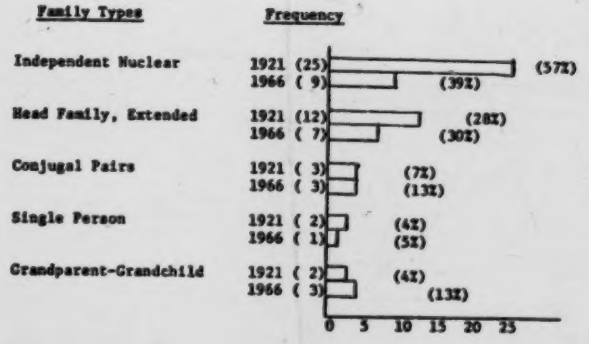
Two additional aspects of the 1921 rural families and households deserve mention prior to my concluding observation. The first is the composition and age of head families in extended family households and the second is the number of matrifocal and patrifocal households. Both of these subjects are included for comparisons with the 1966 data so as

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 104]

592
594
596
128

Figure III

BAR CHART. STAGE III FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS*



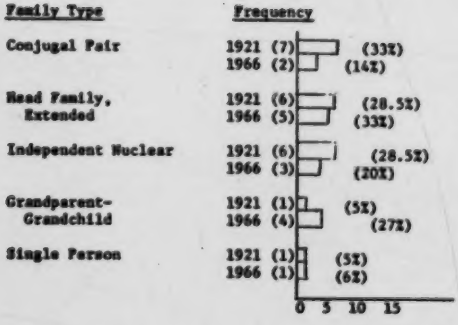
*Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Age of Heads 50-64, 44 Blackfeet families, Independent Nuclear Families predominate.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Figure IV

BAR CHART. STAGE IV FAMILIES, BY TYPES AND AGE OF HEADS*



*Raw Frequencies and Percentages of Family Types; Ages of Heads 65 years plus, 21 Blackfoot families, Conjugal Pairs Predominate.

596
128 Table 15 shows ages and family types of host families in extended family households.

As I showed earlier, there is a higher percentage of both multiple-family households (which takes into account joint family households) and extended family households in the 1966 rural sample than in the 1921 rural sample. In 1966, 22 per cent of the 68 rural households are extended or joint, while only 11 per cent were of these types in the 167 household sample of household in 1921, an important difference.

Table 15, below, shows that single persons headed more extended family households than any other type of family or family remnant in the ascending generation (37 per cent). The same non-family type headed 29 per cent of the 1966 extended family households, a close comparison with the 1921 figures. Independent nuclear families in the 1966 sample headed 35 per cent of the extended family households and 26 per cent of the extended family households in 1921 were headed by independent nuclear families; this difference, although not statistically significant, is the result of increased survival rates of offspring and the under- and unemployment of adults in the descending generation as I have shown. Conjugal pairs account for only two head non-families in the 1966 sample (22 per cent), and 31 per cent in 1921, or a total of six. Grandparent-grandchild non-families were hosts in three 1966 extended family households (22 per cent) and only one in 1921 (6 per cent), another indication of the effect of increased survival rates on the composition of current extended family households. A final comparison shows that the

594
596
128

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 108]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Table 15

OLD AGENCY AND HEART BUTTE DISTRICT ASCENDING FAMILIES IN EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, AGE AND FAMILY TYPE, 19 HEADS, 1921*

Family Type	Frequency	Age of Heads
Single Person	7	60, 63, 64, 70, 70, 78, 80
Conjugal Pair	6	44, 52, 52, 60, 61, 62
Independent Nuclear	5	51, 57, 61, 66, 73
Grandparent-Grandchild	1	56
Total	19	Age Range: 44-80

*This table does not include joint families.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

594 range in age of host families or non-families is similar: 44-80 in 1921
596 and 41-78 in 1966.
128

These comparisons indicate that extended family households in the past and present are essentially similar; dependencies were common in the past as they are in the present, although increased survival rates and poor economic opportunites have altered some aspects of household composition. We see from these comparisons that elders in the past and in the present seldom escape from the onus of supporting dependents; additionally, those same elders benefit from the presence of persons in the descending generation.

121

Matrifocal and Patrifocal Households--1921 and 1966 Rural Households

Here I compare briefly the ages and sex of heads of matrifocal and patrifocal households. Sociological and anthropological literature are replete with data and analyses of these types of households. Usually these household types occur with greatest frequency among impoverished minorities, most especially among Blacks in the urban United States and where seasonal wage labor has called for male workers in areas away from home districts. The center of academic inquiry has largely focused on matrifocal households as correlated with welfare systems and migrant wage labor. In the United States, Aid to Dependent Children welfare assistance has been singled out as a form of penalizing underemployed and unemployed males who are not permitted to reside with their dependents if this form of welfare is to be received. Males find it expedient to remain away from their spouses and offspring because ADC

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Table 16

MATRIFOCAL AND PATRIFOCAL HOUSEHOLDS, 16 HEART BUTTE AND OTHER RURAL HOUSEHOLDS, 1966

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
F 64	Widow	Extended	Married son, his spouse and his 2 offspring (4)
F 41	Broken Union	Extended	Daughter-in-law, her daughter, her brother and head's son (4)
F 78	Widow	Independent Nuclear	3 adult offspring
F 65	Widow	Independent Nuclear	2 adult offspring, 2 grandchildren (9)
F 38	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
F 31	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
F 27	Broken Union	Joint	2 offspring, married sister, sister's spouse, sister's 5 offspring (9)
M 72	Broken Union	Extended	Step-grandson, his spouse, and 1 offspring (3)
M 70	Broken Union	Extended	Married daughter, her spouse and 7 offspring, 1 additional grandchild (10)
M 60	Widower	Extended	Married son, his spouse and 5 offspring (7)
M 53	Widower	Extended	Married son, his spouse and 3 offspring (5)
M 69	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	Daughter and daughter's illegitimate offspring (2)

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Table 16 (Continued)

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
M 63	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 adult offspring
M 60	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	4 offspring (1 adult)
M 40	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	6 offspring
M 62	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 grandchild

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128

Table 17

MATRIFOCAL AND PATRIFOCAL HOUSEHOLDS, 28 OLD AGENCY AND HEART BUTTE DISTRICT FAMILIES, 1921

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
F 56	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	1 grandchild
F 55	Widow	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
F 42	Widow	Grandparent-Grandchild	1 grandchild
F 40	Widow	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring, 4 grandchildren (6)
F 72	Widow	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring, 1 younger brother (4)
F 26	Widow	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
F 63	Widow	Extended	Married offspring and spouse of offspring (2)
F 60	Widow	Extended	Married offspring and spouse of offspring (2)
F 80	Widow	Extended	Married offspring and spouse of offspring (2)
F 45	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
F 64	Widow	Extended	Married offspring, spouse of offspring and 1 grandchild (3)
F 30	Widow	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring

592
594
596
128

Table 17 (Continued)

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
M 50	Broken Union	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring, 1 unrelated male (2)
M 38	Widower	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
M 45	Widower	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
M 49	Widower	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
M 73	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse and 1 unmarried offspring (3)
M 57	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse and 1 unmarried offspring (3)
M 70	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse and 1 unmarried offspring (3)
M 58	Widower	Independent Nuclear	1 offspring
M 50	Widower	Extended	Married offspring and spouse (2)
M 55	Widower	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
M 54	Widower	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring
M 70	Widower	Extended	Married offspring, spouse and 2 offspring (4)
M 35	Widower	Joint	1 offspring with married son and brother-in-law (3)

392
394
396
128

Table 17 (Continued)

Sex and Age of Head	Reason for Separation from Spouse	Household Type	Number and Types of Dependents in Household
M 43	Widower	Independent Nuclear	3 offspring
M 62	Widower	Independent Nuclear	2 offspring

128 sections of the town on a broadly proportionate basis. The types and frequencies are shown in Table 18.

592 Two hundred and twelve persons occupy the 39 households. The
128 age distribution of these persons is presented in the following table (Table 19) where broad age intervals of 0-21, 22-64, and 65 plus are
592 used for demographic comparison with previously analyzed samples. The
128 trend line and percentages of persons in the three age intervals compares
369 closely with the figures from the present rural districts (see Chapter III).

594 The median number of persons per household is 4.7; for multiple-
596 family households the figure is 7.5 and the median for independent
369 nuclear family households is 6.5. In comparison with the 1966 rural
128 sample these median figures show some contrasts. There are fewer per-
592 sons per household in the Browning sample (4.7 against 5.8), fewer persons per nuclear family household (6.5 against 7.4) and more persons per multiple-family household (7.5 against 7.3). Table 20 compares the percentages of household types in the Browning and rural samples.

The rural sample clearly shows a statistically significant difference at the .05 level in the percentage of multiple-family households (21 per cent against 5 per cent) although other types of households occur in rather comparable percentages, as Table 20 shows. In all I gathered household composition data for 88 households, which includes the 39 cases in the preceding tables that were interviewed in considerable detail; of the 89, five are multiple-family--all are extended, dual-family households--which amount to only about 6 per cent

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 123]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
128
369

Table 18

THIRTY-NINE BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPES, 1967, 1968 AND 1970

Household Type	Frequency
Independent Nuclear	26
Grandparent-Grandchild	5
Conjugal Pair	5
Extended Family*	2
Single Person	1
Total	39

*Two families reside in each of the extended family households.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

E
59
592
594
596
128
369

Table 20

COMPARATIVE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES, 68 RURAL HOUSEHOLDS AND 39 BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

Household Type	Browning (Frequencies)	Rural (Frequencies)	Percentage of Total Households	
			(Browning)	(Rural)
Independent Nuclear	26	39	67	58
Grandparent-Grandchild	5	7	13	10
Extended	2	14	5	21
Conjugal Pair	5	5	13	7
Single Person	1	2	2	3
Joint	-	1	-	1
Totals	39	68	100	100

592 of the total. I will discuss this larger sample in more detail momen-
594 tarily.

596 The Browning household pattern contrasts significantly in the
128 occurrence of multiple-family households. I will show that though
369 fewer families in my Browning sample cluster under a single roof, there
592 is considerable inter-household economic cooperation where such coopera-
594 tion is possible. A family in Browning can better manage a single
369 dwelling in some respects, as compared with the rural setting. Trans-
128 portation, for example, is not as much of a problem to those in Browning
[594] since one can easily walk to his job, grocery stores, etc., whereas in
the rural districts transportation assistance is often required when a
family alone cannot afford the convenience of a private vehicle.
592 Secondly, and more importantly, ADC-recipient matrifocal household
687 heads receive more assistance in Browning in securing quarters through
369 the welfare offices. Another factor is the relative scarcity of avail-
362 able low income kin with whom some of the low and unstable income
[602] families in Browning can join under one roof. The kinship network in
602 the rural districts is more tightly knit, with more frequent economic
369 interchanges between closely related families.

Browning is more urbanized in the sense that atomization and isolation of kin units occur with greater frequency. This is relative, however, because in Browning one finds a good deal of mutual, kin-based aid, as I will discuss below.

124 While in Browning I secured additional household composition data
127 from random sources so as to obtain a larger sample than the 39 household

592
128
594
596

Table 21

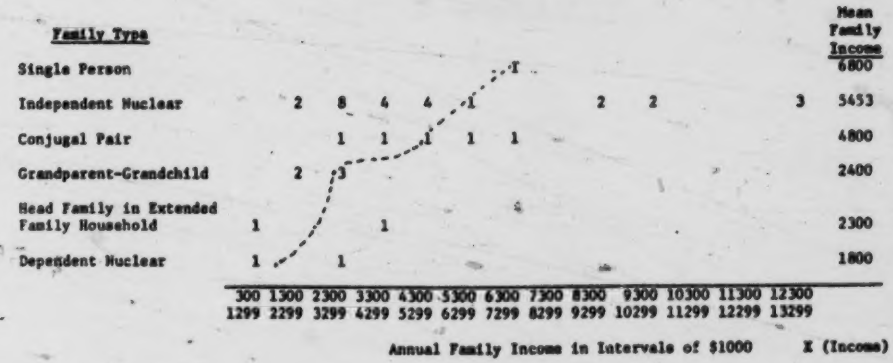
EIGHTY-NINE BROWNING HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE,
1967, 1968, 1970

Household Type	Frequency	Per Cent of All Households
Independent Nuclear	63	72
Conjugal Pair	9	10
Grandparent-Grandchild	7	8
Extended	5	5
Single Person	5	5
Totals	89	100

592
594
846
434
128

Correlation Ratio Diagram III

FAMILY TYPE AND AMOUNT OF FAMILY INCOME,
41 BROWNING FAMILIES, 1967-1970



$\eta^2_{xy} = .21$

---- = Trend line

B21
715
H86
705

Correlation Ratio Diagram IV

FAMILY TYPES AND AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 41 BROWNING FAMILIES, 1967-1970

Family Type	Y (Family Type)	Mean Age of Family Heads
Single Person	1	72.0
Grandparent-Grandchild	1 2 2	68.0
Head Family in Extended Family Household	1 1	57.0
Conjugal Pair	2 1 2	43.0
Independent Nuclear	6 4 1 3 2 5 5	42.0
Dependent Nuclear	2	22.0

20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-49 50-54 55-59 60-64 65-69 70 plus

Age of Heads in Intervals of 5 Years

X (Age)

$\eta_{xy}^2 = .39$

---- = Trend line

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
S94
S96
128

Correlation Ratio Diagram V

FAMILY TYPES AND AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 94 BROWNING FAMILIES, 1967-1970

Family Type	Y (Family Type)											Mean Age of Family Heads
Single Person									1	2	2	68.0
Grandparent-Grandchild								1	1	3	2	66.3
Head Family in Extended Family Household					1	1				1	2	60.0
Conjugal Pair	2					2	1		2	2		49.7
Independent Nuclear	1	11	12	7	4	7	10	6	3	1	1	42.0
Dependent Nuclear	2	1	2									27.0
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70 plus	

Age of Heads in Interval of 5 Years — X (Age)

$\eta^2_{xy} = .27$

----- = Trend line

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NP6 Blackfoot NP6
Piegan
Montana

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

592
594
596
369
128

Table 28

THREE-SAMPLE COMPARISON OF MEAN AGE OF FAMILY HEADS, 94 BROWNING FAMILIES, 41 BROWNING FAMILIES AND 83 RURAL BLACKFE T FAMILIES, 1966, 1967, 1968 AND 1970

Family Type	94 Browning Families (Mean Age of Heads)	41 Browning Families (Mean Age of Heads)	83 Rural Families (Mean Age of Heads)
Single Person	68.0	72.0	64.6
Grandparent-Grandchild	66.3	68.0	65.6
Head Family (Extended)	60.0	57.0	60.6
Conjugal Pair	49.7	43.0	58.0
Independent Nuclear	42.0	42.0	40.8
Dependent Nuclear	27.0	22.0	27.8

592 and conversely, welfare and leased land income are also smaller in
369 percentages than in the rural area. However, I pointed out that seven
434 households of the 39 interviewed intensively receive almost 50 per cent of the earnings and these households have joint husband-wife earners. The earning in this small number of households strongly affect the percentage of earned income for the entire sample. The have-nots, that is, the majority of the lower or non-earning households, are far down the line in total income.

592 Multiple-family households occur in very sma-l percentages in
596 Browning; only five of 89 households canvassed for household composition
128 were multiple-family in form. This is only slightly above five per cent
369 compared with the 21 per cent in the rural area, a statistically significant difference at the .05 level. However, Browning households with
592 incomes of less than $4,000 per annum are engaged in frequent kin-based
511 economic aid. These households form tiny kin neighborhoods where there
369 is frequent face-to-face contact and exchange of money, labor, and emo-
602 tional support. About 45 per cent of the households in the intensively interviewed sample of 39 were involved in these mutual assistance groups. Those who earn $4,000 or over generally sever economic ties, at least much more so than do the lower income households. These families tend to live to themselves and to place their resources at the disposal of their individual families in a somewhat middle class style.

592 Browning and Heart Butte area demographies are similar. In each,
369 youngsters 21 or younger make up about 60 per cent of the samples, those
128 22 to 64 about 35 per cent, and elders 65 and over between 3 to 5 per

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

563 government charity for over forty years, surviving as best they could. Admission was granted to these families and subsequently to a few others of the same band.

Today these Indians constitute a special group which lives somewhat apart and is identified as "Cree" by the Blackfoot. They are distinct from the Cree wives of Blackfoot and the descendants of adopted Crees whose past affiliation with Crees, though recognized, does not constitute a basis for special social status. The new-comers receive all the benefits of the Blackfoot trust fund. They have constructed their own coal-mine and continue their own ceremonials. 563 Indeed, they use for their own purposes the Sun Dance lodge that 796 has been erected by the Blackfoot for Blackfoot rituals. In 1939, with no Sun Dance vower from the majority group, the Crees offered to save the day by holding the ceremonies according to their tradition. Some Blackfoot participated with interest, most were grateful and somewhat satisfied at having a "sort of a Sun Dance," but many were arrogantly critical of these proceedings. The Crees, on the defensive, resolved to impress these spectators with the ceremonial rigours and the strength of their power. One night, after the chief vower had fasted for more than forty-eight hours, in the presence of a few curious spectators the aged vower was said to have made the moon dance to the beat of his drum. Respect for the Crees rose perceptibly, and though this group is treated by local reserve residents as inferior, it is now probable that as its economic position improves, differences will disappear.

Social Structure and Kinship

594 The band having disappeared, there remains as the present
592 nucleus for living the individual family of husband, wife, and chil-
[829] dren. However, it is unusual for a family to remain long so small as this, for people consider themselves lonely and isolated under these circumstances. Only the recluses or very poor live alone with
● 596 their wives and children. As we have noted, a young man and his wife will come to live with an older brother or one of the husband's brothers-in-law. In this household the two men help each other with the work in the fields, while their wives collaborate on baby
[178] care and household chores. Such a system is a direct continuation
[593] of the time-honoured kinship obligations between brothers, and
[607] between a man and his sister's husband or his wife's brother.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

According to this practice the two must co-operate, though authority is vested in the elder, especially if he is the wife's brother.[1] In case of dissatisfaction the younger is free to move to another more generous person.

As adjacent land becomes available, the younger may apply to the agent for these fields in order that he himself, having learned the techniques of farming, may become self-sufficient. The location of houses in small clusters of three and four at mile intervals along many of the reserve roads provides opportunity for groups of relatives and in-laws to live adjacently. Having been granted occupancy of a neighbouring house, the junior family may move there. Obligation of mutual help continues, though there is greater independence than formerly. Mutual help on the fields of one's relatives may be expected, and there will be exchanges of gifts, though no actual division of income.

Expanding such groups still further are the older people who frequently come to live in the same house with or in a house near to their children. Kinship obligations require caring for the indigent, as we have noted previously.[2] The practice of "bringing up" children of relatives adds further potential members to the original family. This practice is distinct from adoptions where the foster parents conceal the fact of adoption from the child. In "bringing up" a child, a middle-aged man and his wife merely take a grandchild to live with them. Having brought up a family themselves and having a "vacant" house with the unmarried children away in boarding-school, many people feel lonely and ask their relatives for children. These children then live with and are supported by their grandparents, though they frequently spend several days or weeks with their own parents also. Both "bringing up" a child and adoption occur with considerable frequency.

Thus the individual family is variously expanded on the reserve today by the addition of siblings, certain in-laws, the aged, and children. Numerous clusters of houses show such patterns of relationships. In one of a group of four houses lives an old widow with her grandchildren whom she is "bringing up" for her son-in-law. Next to her lives her sister's son and his family; by Blackfoot reckoning this man is her "son." Across the road, a stone's throw away, live her true son and his children, one of whom is married

[1] Cf. p. 72.
[2] Cf. p. 80.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

361 and resides there with his wife. The occupant of the fourth house
602 is called "younger sibling" by the old lady because he was raised by a co-wife of the old lady's mother. Such clusters of relatives are frequent throughout the reserve.

602 In these groups considerable mutual help exists. At harvest all
476 able-bodied males and females may turn out. One person often obtains the weekly rations for the entire group of households, and on trips to town members of any household may ride in the wagon. As in the individual household the eldest male or female is the final authority in matters of common concern, though usually a senior woman returns the decision after its having been submitted to her,
602 by saying to the eldest male, "It's up to you." When one of the
431 extended family receives a good return from his crop of beef cattle, he is expected to share it with his relatives as gifts and food. Many visitors come on such occasions and should be given meat, blankets, money, or horses. Although in proportion to the individual's total income the amount of these gifts is smaller today than formerly, the importance of these obligations continues.

221 It should be borne in mind that there is comparatively little
596 group stability, for change of residence is frequent. Many households have two residences, one for summer and another for winter.
[362] The summer residences, built at trust fund expense, were intended originally to be permanent, but the lack of insulation makes them unsatisfactory at low temperatures with high winds. Many have built cabins in the valley of the Bow River where shelter and access to water are more adequate. In this case the summer grouping of relatives may differ from the winter grouping, though both groupings are usually based on kinship. A young married couple lived with the husband's brother-in-law on the farm during the summer but with the husband's parents on the river bank during the winter.

221 Besides this seasonal change of residence, the character of em-
464 ployment may justify additional migration. In the winter many households are attracted to the mines. In spring and summer, work on the farms and later haying, not to mention the Sun Dance and the Tobacco Dance, may mean that some households reside not
361 more than a few weeks in one place. Even then, however, kinship
602 serves as the bond for determining where one shall camp. A man may live in his older brother's house during seeding, camp next to

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

his father-in-law at the Tobacco Dance, occupy a bed in his father's tipi at the Sun Dance, live with an age-mate at the Calgary Stampede, and harvest hay with his brother-in-law.

Sociability may be another reason for moving. Thus many households pitch a tent at the mine in winter though no pay is received from mining. These people merely enjoy living in a centre of activity; certainly no one wants to be isolated on the snow-swept prairie. Not infrequently a relative may be seen camping outside a farm house for several days, his only grounds for living there being sociability.

This presents a picture of self-interested migration by individual households with any kinship affiliation serving as a liaison. There are many exceptions, however, where a stable cluster of relatives forms the centre of the extended family. Even in buffalo days there was a fringe of impermanently attached tipis with every band. The greater the wealth and generosity of a relative, the more stable and large is his extended family. At the upper limit on a continuum of stability it is possible to cite half a dozen extended families that reside together almost continuously throughout the year.[1] The members of this group would describe the situation by saying, "I camp with Boy Chief." Near the mean of stability are persons with less wealth and generosity whose relatives come and go for various reasons but return frequently. Such a central figure may be an old, respected man of wisdom or a younger farmer with habits of industry. With these people one is apt to hear a longer and qualified description of peregrinations: "I live with my father but go up west to my older brother's place on the farm during the summer. My older brother usually comes down here to camp in the winter time, too." Here is a statement that implies loyalty to a respected old man who cannot provide for his sons economically. On the lower extreme of the continuum are the poor and isolated who in some manner have behaved so as to cut themselves off from their kinfolk. They move to and fro camping where they may, or still more miserably, living friendless in a house exposed to the weather. There are very few of these.

Solidarity within the extended family is gained by such events of common interest as a marriage. In conservative Indian circles the woman's kinsmen select the spouse, whose kin are approached

[1] Cf. p. 86.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

765 prescribed in order to help the survivors forget. The mourners do not
768 participate in the activity but say, "It makes us feel good to give
these things away. It is the last time that we lose things on him
765 [the deceased]." At the conclusion of this give-away, a period of
mourning follows, varying from four days for an infant or distant relative to four years for a cherished spouse. During this time the mourner may wail alone on the hills or sit vacantly in the house of a watchful kinsman who encourages him to forget his loneliness and to "live for his children." Throughout prolonged mournings the intensity gradually diminishes, although all say that intense moments of grief occur until the last anniversary of mourning when suddenly life becomes again tolerable. Above all, the bereaved absents himself from associations that remind him of the dead person. In one typical instance the parents, after the death of a child, remained four months away from their house, camping in a tent, in order to avoid this association. Only after the four months could they return and take up living there again. For this reason, years after a death many feel hesitant to enter the hospital. However long mourning may be, at its completion relatives must assist the mourner to start life again by giving new clothing and equipment for the household.

● 596 In theory, when the key person in an extended family dies, the
768 next eldest kinsman assumes leadership. In practice, allegiance to the successor may not be sufficient to maintain the solidarity of the group. We have seen how in the old days after the death of a band chief, many of the followers moved to other bands. Today with even less coherence complete redistribution of households is apt to follow. However, a successor with wealth and generosity has certain factors working in favour of continuation of the extended family. Though household furnishings and sacred bundles may be scattered, wills help maintain intact essential farm tools and live-stock, house, and barns. Thus when Hind Bull died, his son-in-law had already stepped into the leading role. Sufficient property remained together after the death of Three Suns that an energetic kinsman could carry on. There is Blackfoot precedent for this, and the agency has discouraged abandonment and destruction of all property in a household. Indeed, relatives have been known to hide the farm equipment of a mourner to prevent his giving it away "until he has sobered up from the mourning." This would certainly have been impossible before 1900.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

The extended families that quickly dissipate are those with insufficient wealth to support many individuals and no central figure to carry the burden of leadership. Those loyal to the deceased will have other loyalties which compete with the successor. Successors with more of a flare for enjoying themselves than for maintaining the family assets lose their legacies and become dependents upon the more sagacious. Moreover, without a strong successor, quarrels over the legacy arise. In view of the multitudinous relatives recognized in Blackfoot society, particularly after several marriages, claimants for the property may be numerous. One recently contested estate consisting of horses and cattle was left intestate, though the deceased had given away the body of his horses before death. The claimants for the cattle were: (1) a classificatory older brother of the deceased, actually the dead man's mother's brother; (2) a classificatory young brother, actually the dead man's father's sister's son; (3) an adopted daughter; (4) a nephew, the exact relationship being unknown. As the nephew had already received the horses, this gift was confirmed by the council of chiefs, and the cattle were awarded to the adopted daughter; the other claims were unrecognized.

Today, households that are economically successful tend to become independent. Many Stars predicted at treaty time, "You will all be chiefs." As each household with a plough, harrow, and binder no longer needs the economic assistance of a chief, the main relationship to the leader is sentimental. The leader of a stable, extended family draws his followers from those without means, the young who have not yet obtained the tools of production, and the aged who need shelter and companionship. White law and administration have further weakened the system by the assumption that the conjugal biological family is the social unit to be preserved. For example, the levirate, which entrusted a younger brother with the care of his older brother's widow, is unrecognized in English law; today the widow must rejoin her own relatives pending remarriage and usually goes to the home of the one who is best able to support her, preferably her older brother. Furthermore, the head of an extended family has no officially recognized place in the political system. Few leaders of extended families are members of the council of chiefs, because, as we have shown, it is a frustrating position. Unofficially the head of an extended family may carry as much or more weight among Indians than many elected chiefs. A member

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

596 643 of the council cannot give jobs to his followers by dint of his position, though the head of a family can always assist a needy relative. Through the chiefs an increase in annuity is rarely attained, but a generous leader of an extended family may answer such a demand with an occasional five dollars from his own pocket. Finally there [621] is no longer an identity to the extended family. The band names covering several widely scattered families function mainly at the Sun Dance circle. The elected chiefs now unidentified with any specific group of followers speak mainly for their immediate circle of relatives and have been accused of neglecting persons with remoter ties.

596 829 There exists, nevertheless, a strong feeling on the reserve that the extended family is the proper social unit for living. One man complained that the size of Blackfoot acreages was too small. Individual acreages should be enlarged so that a man could raise more and make more money. This was not, however, sheer avarice, for he added, "Then we could take better care of more people." The Blood reserve is regarded as a model in this respect, for there a few Indians have several hundred acres and can support a sizable group. These few wealthy Blood are chiefs in modern dress, for they can live well and still fulfill their obligations to less fortunate kinsmen. [556] In comparison the Blackfoot are as a group wealthier yet usually not sufficiently wealthy in terms of individual productive capacity to become leaders in the new sense.

Social Organization and Age

561 A delicate balance of cultural rewards was provided in buffalo days for the young and old. The glory of war with all its Plains embellishments furnished rewards for the young. To the old was granted political and religious authority. Though the obligations of a successful warrior as a member of the camp were scarcely onerous, he was, nevertheless, subject to the dicta of his elders. In the home, the transition point between submission to, and wielding, authority occurred about the time of marriage. This was usually at about thirty years of age. As head of a household, a man's interest in stability of social relations increased. The sizable herd of horses gathered on previous raids must be conserved, since home responsibilities kept him from the warpath. This was done by using the horses in canny transactions. It was time now to start giving to the

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

personal effects for himself or his household. He willingly assumes the burden of care for the aged, as this gives him further prestige through generosity. Only when age curtails his activity can he look for someone to take his place.

From abnegation of the past one becomes a devotee. Old men are paid by the middle-aged to retell stories of war and camp life in the buffalo days. The feats of one's father and grandfathers are venerated so that in comparison the new generation seems inferior. A strong urge comes to revive and relive these times. This is the present position of much ceremonial life, and people participate eagerly. It is a sign of accomplishment to have owned many sacred bundles and joined many societies. Opportunities are sought out to wear buckskin clothing and display one's knowledge of the past. Considerable rivalry exists among authorities to tell the true version of a well-known tale. Of course, the lingering survivors of buffalo days have the upper hand, and to be a person who can still recite *coups* guarantees great respect. Substitute *coups* for those born too late have been adopted, as when a visitor on the Crow reserve seized a knife or a sugar bowl from his host or when a gun was stolen from the unoccupied cabin of a white man. These substitutes, however, remain officially unsanctioned, and old men frequently come from great distances to tell authentic *coups* requisite for proper validation of a ceremonial step.

In the face of these changes one may ask whether white ways lure people away from the approved Indian pattern. Because of the solidarity with the past and with people of one's own kind, total conversion is rare. Some who have given up the hospital for a medicine man later return to the hospital. Former members of sacred societies may attend church services. In this sense conversion occurs, but this is only partial and indeed thoroughly permissible conduct for a devotee of Indian ways. We have observed only two immutable requisites for acceptable Indian conduct. First, the obligations of a social role within the extended family must be observed. Though one septegenarian convert to the Anglican church attended no ceremonials, he was respected for fulfilling his obligations as the eldest in an extended family. Another was a member of a sacred society but was thoroughly despised because of his failure to be generous towards his relatives and to work diligently to fulfill his obligations. Second, there should be no active sabotage of Indian ways. Another elderly convert to the Anglican church fulfilled his social obligations